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AUTHOR Kazi, Aftab A.
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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the standard Pakistan social studies curriculum to investigate (1) the extent to which it represents ethnic nationalities of Pakistan, and (2) the extent to which it demonstrates its contribution to the process of national cohesion and integration. The findings presented are based on a content analysis (both trend and variable) of a representative sample of standard social studies textbooks used in secondary schools in Pakistan during the 40 years from 1947 to 1987. This time is divided into three major eras of political changes that have dominated the history of modern Pakistan including: (1) the early establishment era from 1947 to 1955 when the one-unit scheme was imposed by the federal government, which abolished both the identity and provincial autonomy of the Pakistani ethnic nationalities; (2) the one-unit era from 1955 to 1968 until the military coup d'etat of President General Yahya Khan, who abolished the one-unit structure under popular unrest and pressure; and (3) the post one-unit era from 1970 to the present during which East Pakistan separated to become Bangala Desh, the first civilian government was established and overthrown, and processes of Islamization were introduced. In the final analysis, the major integrative variable investigated were found to be deficient in their equitable representation of both individual and collective affairs of the Pakistani ethnic nationalities. The national social studies curriculum in Pakistan gives the impression of only representing the migrant community from central India, and portrays the majority of the indigenous Pakistani nationalities as insignificant. The responsible factor appears to be unequal distribution of political power. (DK)

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Ethnic Nationalities, Education, and Problems of National Integration in Pakistan

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Ethnic Nationalities, Education, and Problems of National Integration in Pakistan

AFTAB A. KAZI
Visiting Scholar
School of Advanced International Studies
The Johns Hopkins University
U.S.A.

Scholarship in United States on politics and education in developing societies tends to focus on a socioeconomic perspective, while the sociopolitical perspective, specifically the nation and state-building component, has been rarely addressed. Few sociologists, however, have discussed education from a social stratification perspective; most political scientists with an interest in education have yet to address the subject beyond administration and planning issues. Lack of correlative studies on newly independent multiethnic societies and narrowly focused analyses of multidimensional problems have misled most projections on education and socioeconomic development,[1] simply because such projections often fail to address the relationship between sociopolitical realities and socioeconomic development as a necessary analytical factor in educational planning and policy implementation. This is especially important because most of these societies face enormous multidimensional problems, ranging from economic underdevelopment, to uneven boundaries and divided ethnic populations, and an agreed political framework. If a smooth nation-institution-building process is to be achieved, most important of all factors is the representation and participation of various ethnic nationalities[2] and ethnic groups in the overall sociopolitical and economic structure.

1. Most studies on education, economic and social change published by Education Division of the World Bank provide such examples. Demonstration of educational development and economic growth by numbers though technically impressive; these studies have never been able to explain the causes of concurrent political instability. Most World Bank data on Third World societies fail to appraise the multiethnic character of those societies and lack breakdowns on multiethnic participation in national development. Such data offers unidimensional perspective of multidimensional societies as provided by the societal ruling elite. Generalizations derived from a data representing a small portion of society leads to incorrect analyses, and have created common stereotypes of Asian, African, and Latin American countries.
2. The terms "ethnic nationalities" and "ethnic groups" in relation to developing societies have often been misused. In the United States, the term "ethnic groups" is commonly used for people of different ethnic backgrounds, whereas the term "ethnic nationalities" remain uncommon, simply because of long term efforts to develop the concept of American nationality. The people of different national origins are treated as ethnic groups in an American sense who otherwise hold backgrounds of historically evolved ethnic nationalities outside the U.S. borders. Thus, there are no "ethnic nationalities" in United States, only the ethnic groups, whereas most other developing societies are composed of both the historically evolved ethnic nationalities and the ethnic groups originating for thousands of years inside the same borderlands. This presents the fundamental problem of analytical misperceptions of social realities in the United States and other societies. The U.S. scholastic community often seems to have difficulty conceptualizing these differences, which has led to a phenomenological conflict over the nature of modern nation-state system, as practiced in industrially advanced and newly independent multiethnic/nation societies.

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In addition to education and social change, several theories have been advanced to analyze ethnicity and national integration in developing societies. Yet, contradictory political structures, phenomenological conflict over the nature of the modern nation-states, and consequent misinterpretations of ethnic nationalities have led to several stereotypes about the nature of newly independent multiethnic societies. Two types of nation-states have emerged in the Third World in the post world war II era: nations with history and nations without history. "Nations with history" are culturally homogeneous with long histories and traditions of their own, and "nations without history" are newly created entities, established as federations by the membership of two or more "nations with history." After independence, the task of "nations with history" has primarily been state-building, while "nations without history" have had the double task of nation-building and state-building. Bonds of statehood in post-colonial societies are based on a short historical experience rather than on the historic process of national evolution. The major assumption of this essay stems from the premise that a correlative analysis of sociopolitical and socioeconomic factors in education arena could guide in social change projections with more confidence and may also help to predict major socio-political attitudes and future events.

Difficulty in conceptualizing the basic differences among the industrially advanced societies and the Third World political cultures has resulted in the common misperception that most multiethnic developing societies are homogeneous, depicting an incorrect picture of inter-ethnic participation in the overall education and socioeconomic development areas. The multi-ethnic/nation state of Pakistan is a significant example in this regard.

In 1967, no one had predicted that the "decade of development" celebrated by the then-President General Ayub Khan would turn into a "decade of decay." Three years later, in 1971, despite the widely acclaimed religious bonds between the two wings of Pakistan, East Pakistan emerged into Bangala Desh as a direct result of an ethnic conflict. The process of national disintegration that started soon after independence attracted little scholarly attention until the Bangala Desh Civil war began. The level of ethnic conflict in residuary Pakistan, however, seems to parallel the pre-Bangala Desh stage and Pakistan is still being perceived with the eyes of 1950s and 60s. The recent Pathan-Muhajir riots, movements for greater provincial autonomy in Sindh, Baluchistan, and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP), the Sindh and Baluchistan riots in the 1970s, 1983, 1984, 1986, and 1987 respectively, and the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) are indicative of similar ethnic dissatisfaction within the residuary Pakistan.

A statement by a Sindhi member of the Pakistan National Assembly, Abdul Hamid Jatoi, "do not treat Sindh like a colony, otherwise Sindh will quit (the Pakistani federation),"[4] and further comments by many other intellectuals and politicians that "sixty percent of the

3. Most studies on education policy and social change analyze the overall national development in terms of nation-state as a unit. Breakdowns on ethnic participation in national development suggest that either a single dominant ethnic group or a dominant group in collaboration with an immigrant elite has most benefitted from national development; majority of other ethnic groups have been excluded. See Kazi, Aftab A. *Ethnicity and Education in Nation-Building: The Case of Pakistan*. (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1987).
4. *Frontier Post*, November 20, 1986.

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lands of Sindh have been taken away by Punjab"[5] (the dominant province); and emergence of the Sindh, Baluch Pukhtoon Front (SBPF), a new political party which envisages a Pakistani confederation rather than the existing federation, signifies the seriousness of the present ethnic conflict in Pakistan. The SBPF is headed by Abdul Hafiz Pirzadah, a Sindhi politician and the main architect of the 1973 federal constitution; Attaullah Khan Mengal, a Baluchi politician; and other leaders from NWFP. Continued deprivation within the existing Pakistani framework seems to have changed the perceptions of Pakistani nationalities, from the originally conceived homeland for the Muslims of subcontinent, to a hotbed of constant struggle for socioeconomic, political and cultural survival.

While the issues of "brain drain" and "brain wastage" continue to dominate international concerns, surprizingly enough, in the Sindh province, despite a serious demand for medical and technical professionals, some 7,000 medical doctors, and some 4000 engineers remain unemployed for the last seven years.[6]

Rarely has education policy been utilized to investigate the problems of national cohesion, stability, and political order in developing societies. This study analyzes the standard Pakistan social studies curriculum to investigate the (1) extent to which it represents ethnic nationalities of Pakistan, and (2) the extent to which it demonstrates its contribution to the process of national cohesion and integration.

Limits of Study

The findings presented in this study are based on a content analysis (both trend and variable) of a representative sample of standard social studies textbooks (civics, history, Pakistan studies, and social studies) used in secondary schools in Pakistan during the forty years from 1947 to 1987. During this time, three major eras of political changes have dominated the history of modern Pakistan:

1. ***The Early Establishment Era***. This includes the time period from 1947 to 1955, when the one-Unit scheme was imposed by the federal government, which abolished both the identity and provincial autonomy of the Pakistani ethnic nationalities.
2. ***The One Unit Era***. This covers the time period from 1955 to 1968, until the military coup d'etat of President General Yahya Khan, who abolished the One-Unit structure under popular unrest and pressure.
3. ***The Post One-Unit Era***. This includes the period from 1970 to the present. It is perhaps the most important period in the history of residuary Pakistan, which has witnessed not only

5. *Frontier Post*, November 7, 1986, and several other analyses, including Ghulam Nabi Mughul, *Chhas Sindhi Red Indian Thee Weenda?* [in Sindhi Language], (Matiari, Sindh, Pakistan: Sojhro Publications, 1987); Ali Hassan, "Three Faces of Sindh," *Herald* [Karachi], Vol. 18, No. 4, (April 1987); M. Umar Memon, "Confederation: A Pathway to Salvation," in *Sindh Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 3 (1984).
6. By the end of this year the number of unemployed medical doctors will reach 9,000 and engineers 5,000 when the new batch of students graduates. Despite the demand for medical and engineering professions an under developed society, unemployment problem in these prestigious professions is a result of official policies. Instead of recruiting the local graduates for local jobs, the ruling elite tends to import graduates of Punjab province for jobs in Sindh and Baluchistan, where the native graduates continue to remain unemployed. This has also been confirmed by Muhammad Khan Junejo the current Prime Minister of Pakistan in his statements on the subject during the last six months.

the separation of East Pakistan (now Bangala Desh), but the establishment and overthrow of the first civilian government, and the Islamization processes introduced under the current regime.

The standard secondary school social studies curriculum in Pakistan consists of grades levels 8, 9, and 10. Each of these grade levels uses one textbook, i.e. 8th grade social studies, 9th grades social studies, and the 10th grade Pakistan studies. However, during the early establishment era, when textbooks on the subject were not available in large supplies and/or in a combined form, separate texts on history, civics, and geography were used in the schools. By determining the standard textbooks used in the secondary school social studies during all these three eras, a precise population universe of eighteen texts was established. Among those, six texts were used optionally by the 10th grade students, which allowed for a study of a smaller representative sample of twelve textbooks.

Methodology

The research design utilized in this analysis, i.e. both contigency and trend evaluated textbooks against the content variables on an absence or presence basis over a period of time. The contents were based on a set of ten variables,[7] the interdependent sum of which was rated as likely to foster a positive atmosphere in developing the consensus and integrity.[8] The variables were chosen for their representation of values and/or institutions involved in the process of political socialization and national cohesion. Moreover, they envelop the broad

7. The Ten Integrative variables evaluated are:
   1. Cultural
   2. Economic
   3. Educational
   4. Historical
   5. Islamic Ideology
   6. Pakistan Ideology
   7. Mythical
   8. Political
   9. Religious
   10. Social

8. For operational purposes, the various content variables are defined as such. Cultural refers to the way of life of ethnic nationalities including their values, knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, arts, language, morals, and laws and customs which govern their lives. Economic refers to the economic aspects of the Pakistan Movement, the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services, as well as management of natural resources in various ethnic areas of Pakistan. Educational refers to the educational history and representation of ethnic nationalities and their contributions to the Pakistan movement, as well as the educational socialization processes among the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. Historical represents the accounts of events related to pre- and post-independence eras, the Pakistan movement, and the contributions of Pakistani nationalities in the independence struggle, as well as accounts on individual ethnic histories. Islamic ideology refers to the set of ideas and practices developed by Prophet Muhammad, while Pakistan ideology refers to the ideology of Muslim nationalism on the Indian subcontinent based on "two nations theory" that was the catalyst and backbone of the Muslim independence struggle in India. The Pakistan ideology, is secure by definition. Mythical represents the symbolical accounts of extra-ordinary events within the Pakistani cultures. Recounted for symbolical reasons, myth history is influential in the wisdom, philosophy, and inspirations of ethnic nationalities. Political refers to the accounts of ethnic contributions and their leaders in the Pakistan movement, as well as the political affairs concerning the distribution of power and the policy-making processes as related to the political role of ethnic nationalities in the frame work of the Pakistani state. Religious refers to the accounts of various religious groups in Pakistan, such as non-Muslims and other Islamic sects, their representation in society and the overall treatment of their value system. And, social refers to the social interaction between various nationalities and their experiences at both individual and collective levels, prior to and after independence.

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range of issues affecting the society-at-large and are representative of the sociopolitical climate of the past and present Pakistan. The interdependent positive representation of these variables and observance of the principle of cultural pluralism is likely to enable the individual student to acquire respect and pride for his particular ethnic group, its traditions and contributions, as well as for other ethnic groups in most societies.

The content variables in the study were analyzed for the portrayal of individual ethnic groups, as well as for accuracy and consistency of information provided in such catagories on a positive and/or negative presentation. Authenticity of events and historical distortions were judged by comparing these textbooks with those published prior to the partition of India, when no political motives for such distortions existed. The texts were evaluated on a contigency basis; a positive entry was given ten points, and a lack of entry and/or negative representation, minus ten points. Each book was evaluated in its overall presentation of the ten variables and allowed only one score per unit; thus, the individual units of analysis are the individual textbooks.

Textbooks were also catagorized over three different time periods, which were chosen for their correlation with the levels of political culture at that respective time period in Pakistani history.[9] The time trend analysis helped determine whether a correlation existed between the substantial political changes and the standard national curriculum.

Summary of Findings

An overview of findings addresses the two major research questions; first, the level of participation of various ethnic nationalities, and second, the contribution of the social studies curriculum to national integration.

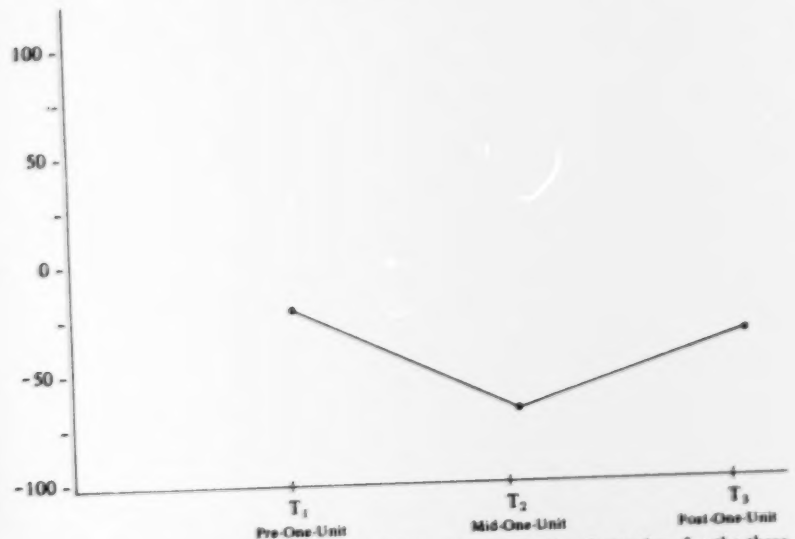
The first question can be addressed by summarizing the trend analysis in Table I and II. A comparative analysis of the mean percentile scores in each period illustrates that during the early establishment era the social studies curriculum (although somewhat deficient in overall content) is significantly more positive (25 percent) in its contribution to national cohesion than that of the One-Unit era, and about 12.5 percent higher than the post-One-Unit era curriculum.

Table II reveals the changes that have occured within the individual eras and their correlation with the political culture of that particular time period. The trend in the social studies curriculum during the early days of the first era reflects the exuberant enthusiasm of ethnic nationalities and their participative role in the new state structure amidst the hopeful surroundings of Pakistan's beginnings. The 60 percent positive representation of integrative variables measured in the texts demonstrates the representation of ethnic nationalities at the

9. Prior to British occupation of India, the ethnic nationalities of the Indian subcontinent were independent and sovereign states. Until 1940, their leaders were struggling to regain their sovereign rights that they had lost to the British and demanded the establishment of different independent Muslim states. It was only after 1946 that their leadership agreed to establish the single state of Pakistan, provided that each states would be politically autonomous within the new state, where most power would reside with the state governments, with the exception of four portfolios, i.e. currency, foreign affairs, defense, and foreign trade for the central government. So far, after 40 years, Pakistan still lacks an agreed upon political framework, and, the political role of ethnic nationalities as described in the original concept of Pakistan is reinterpreted by every new Pakistani government.

Table I

Trend Analysis



(Trend analysis of the mean scores of the Pakistani Social Studies Curriculum for the three time periods under review).

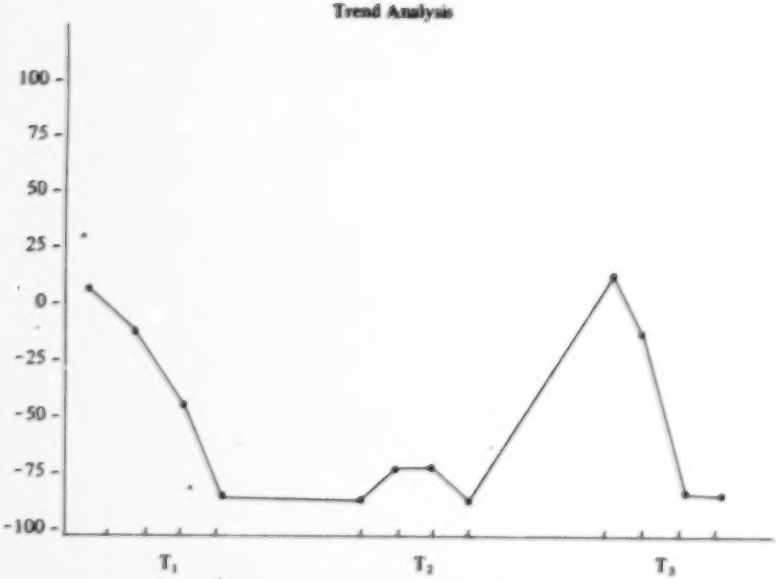
cultural, historical, ideological, mythical, religious, and social levels. The textbooks of this era include accounts of overall ethnic participation in the independence movement, their customs and traditions, as well as tolerant attitudes in religious and social interactions with other minority and/or religious groups. The texts also provide equal representation of both Islamic and Pakistan ideologies, and myth history has been positively presented to describe interethnic relations among the various Pakistani nationalities. However, the economic, educational, and political aspects of ethnic nationalities were non-existent in the early texts.

The later part of this era (1950-1955) reflects political changes that took place in Pakistan, i.e., the beginning of the Punjabi-Refugee alliance that was aimed at deterring ethnic participation in the political structure. The trend during this time period declines sharply and at 10 percent reaches its lowest ebb in 1955, the year the One-Unit scheme was imposed and the autonomy of Pakistani nationalities suspended. At this time the sole integrative variable with positive representation in the curriculum was that of Islamic ideology, and the concept of Muslim nationalism was translated into Islamic nationalism.

During the One-Unit era the curriculum remained deficient in its representation of the majority of integrative variables analyzed and is consistent only in its positive representation of Islamic ideology. This low trend continuity reflects the political changes of 1958, when martial law was imposed to bloc the vote against the One-Unit scheme by the leaders of Sindh, Baluchistan, and NWFP in the National Legislative Assembly. This entire era indicates fluctu-

Table II

Trend Analysis



(Trend analysis of individual text book scores by time period).

ations in the representation of integrative variables by 10 to 20 percent. Textbooks of 1965 added the political accounts of the Indo-Pakistan War, while the 1967 texts once again added material on Pakistan ideology, which was deficient between 1950 and 1966. This change is reflective of the regional nationalist movements for the restoration of provincial autonomy and ethnic identities, and on the part of government, reflects the recognition of national cohesion as an issue, thus, necessity to revitalize the consensus for Pakistani nationalism.

The final post-One-Unit era is divided into three separate time periods for the purpose of analysis. First period, the immediate post-One-Unit era, witnessed the dismemberment of the state in 1971, as indicated by the continued low representation of integrative variables in the curriculum at 20 percent. Dissolution of the One-Unit scheme revitalized provincial autonomy and ethnic identities, as evidenced by the positive representation of cultural aspects in the curriculum of this time. However, remaining variables (with the exception of Islamic ideology) were consistently deficient in their representation, which reflects the state of emergency and consequent impact of the Bangala Desh crisis.

In 1972, with the introduction of a new education policy by the newly installed civilian government, a marked increase is noticeable in the trend of this time period, exhibiting a high percent positive representation of integrative variables. During the civilian era (1971-1977), attempts were made to repair the damaged sociopolitical fabric of Pakistan by recognizing some rights of ethnic nationalities in the 1973 Constitution. An upward trend in the

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social studies curriculum during the early period of this era indicates government efforts to restore the confidence of ethnic nationalities (the military action in Baluchistan is still subjective and requires active research).

The final period of the last era (1977 to present) reflects Islamization policies of the new military government, as the social studies curriculum de-emphasizes the positive representation of the majority of the integrative variables, and instead re-emphasizes Islamic ideology. The sharp decline in trend line suggests the controls over ethnic and provincial autonomy, and of mounting differences between expectations and achievements of Pakistani nationalities.

The second research question, i.e., the contribution of the social studies curriculum to national integration is addressed by the representation analysis of integrative variables in Table III. While nine of the ten variables reviewed in the texts were found to be deficient in representation, only the variable of Islamic ideology was found to be 100 percent positively emphasized in all texts analyzed. Particularly deficient were the economic and educational variables scoring a zero percent representation in each of the texts reviewed. An elaboration on each of the variables and their respective presentation in the texts, as well as examples of each, is presented in the following section.

Data Presentation and Interpretation

The ten integrative variables will now be discussed for their representative attributes in the social studies curriculum.

Cultural

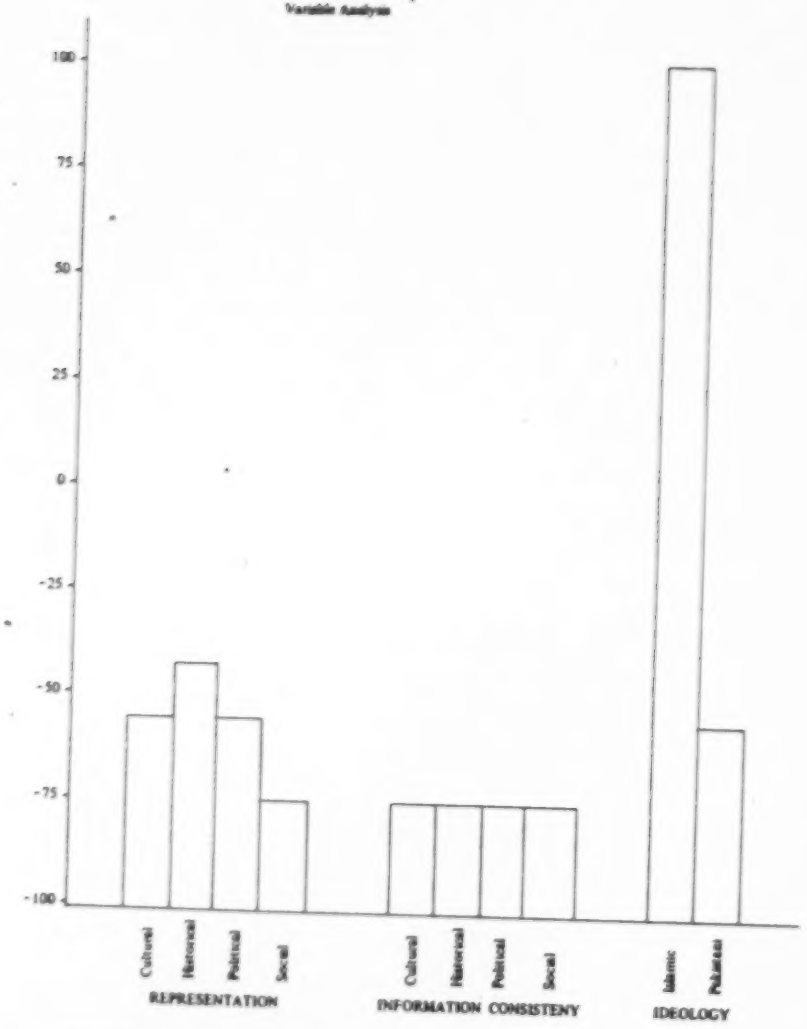
As an integrative variable it ranks low in representation, while only three texts (25 percent) emphasize cultural variable positively by citing the accounts of indigenous Pakistani cultures, traditions, languages, and poetry, the remainder of books cite only the cultural traditions of central Indian provinces (representing only the refugee groups from India which consist of approximately 3 percent of the total population, but control almost 50 percent of the top bureaucracy) and thus, are non-representative of indigenous Pakistani society. In the languages and literature sections, 75 percent of the texts include central Indian poets, such as Ghalib and Dagh Dehlvi (who neither visited nor dreamt of Pakistan), as national poets, while indigenous popular poets, such as Shah Abdul Latif, Khushhall Khan Khattak, Bulah Shah are rarely represented and/or excluded from the literary heritage of Pakistan.

Economics

In the context of indigenous nationalities the economic variables are non-existent (0 percent) in all of the texts, with the exception of a few references to the central Indian states. Historically, the ethnic nationalities of Pakistan have been economically interdependent. Their economic relations and contributions were among the major considerations behind the Muslim nationalist movement on the Indian subcontinent. Non-recognition to their contributions has created common stereotype that Pakistan was made by the central Indian

Table III

Variable Analysis



Analysis of individual variable percentile scores in the Pakistani Social Studies Curriculum).

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Muslims (the refugee groups) and that the Sindhis, Baluchis, and Pathans played no role in the Pakistan Movement. On the contrary, Sindhis were the first Muslim Indian nation to vote for Pakistan and others had followed Sindh's path. However, a total of some six million Muslims (started with two million in 1947-48; the number has been increased to six million over the last 40 years), migrated to Pakistan, while some 80 million prefered to stay in India.

Education

The education variable also scored zero percent. However, its low score was not because of non-existence in the texts, but for its consistently negative treatment in all texts. 100 percent of the texts limit educational contributions to the efforts of one Indian Muslim, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and to his Ali Garh Muslim College, while the contributions of Hassan Ali Affandi and several other indigenous leaders, as well as the Sindh Madrasah, and universities of Punjab and Peshawar, in the awakening of Muslims are ignored. This is astounding because of the fact that even Muhammad Ali Jinah, Pakistan's founding father, completed his high school education at Sindh Madrsah in Karachi.

Historical

The texts were found to be 33 percent representative and consistent in their presentation. However, historical accounts of the independence struggle in indigeneous Baluchistan, Sindh, NWFP, Punjab, and Bengal have not been acknowledged, whereas the historic contributions of central Indian Muslims are highlighted. The histories of individual Pakistani nationalities have been barely touched upon.

Additional factor in the negative scoring of 67 percent of the texts reviewed were historical distortations and information inconsistencies. A prime example of this is the controversey over Jinah's birth place. According to pre-One-Unit era texts, Jinah was born in Jhirka, a small town some forty miles near modern Karachi; the textbooks written during the One-Unit era report Karachi proper as his birthplace. Another example of distortion was found in Choudhry Rehmat Ali's[10] concept of Pakistan. He claims Pakistan's sovereignty for an unbroken period of 1145 years, since the invasion of Sindh by Arabs. In the same tradition, the Pakistan studies texts constantly boast of the ancient Indus Valley civilization of Mohen-jo-Darrho as the '5000-year-old Islamic civilization.' Mohen-jo-Darrho in fact predates Islam nearly four thousand years.

Most texts include chapters on Islamic history of Arabia and central India, while no reference has been made to the development of Islam within the Pakistani territory and to the contributions of indigenous nationalities. The concept of Pakistan has been traced back to 712 A.D., the year of the Arab invasion of Sindh. On the contrary, the idea to establish several Muslim states on the Indian subcontinent originated in the 1940s, while the idea for a single state of Pakistan was conceived in 1946.

10. Choudhry Rehmat Ali, a punjabi, supposedly conceived of the original idea of Pakistan, while a student in Great Britain.

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Distortions such as these illustrate the confusion created by the curriculum for indigenous nationalities who highly value both their religion and their ethnic origins, and at times in their history have fought wars with the Muslim rulers of central India over political matters. Moreover, according to their belief system, Islam originated some 1400 years back with the birth of Muhammad in Arabia, and not in 1947 when Pakistan was born. This presents just another stereotype.

Islamic Ideology

The most significant aspect of this variable was its extraordinary emphasis (100 percent positive representation) in all the texts reviewed. As an inspiring source of Muslim nationalism, the texts are consistently flavored with Islamic ideology and often overly represented when compared with other integrative variables. No one will question the influence of Islam over the Indian subcontinent; however, over the years the dominant role of Punjab and the refugees in the name of Islam seems to have limited Islam as a cohesive factor in the Pakistan's state-building process. Restospectively speaking, even Islamic bonds could not prevent the break up of Bengalis from the mother state of Pakistan. Demands for provincial autonomy, the secular nature of ethnic movements, and related historical events suggest that Islamic ideology may no longer be an effective factor in national integration, other than only the functioning ideology of the ruling elite.

Pakistan Ideology

Secular in nature, it is derived from the original concept of Pakistan documented in the famous Lahore Resolution[11] which acknowledges both ethnic identities and their national autonomy. The Islamic ideology was positively represented in 100 percent of the texts reviewed, as opposed to 25 percent representation of Pakistan ideology. Most Pakistani governments have apparently presented both Pakistan and Islamic ideologies interchangeably. However, in the face of growing provincial autonomy movements during the one-Unit era, the then-Pakistani government seems to have revitalized this variable. Nonethless, a clear ideological distinction was not made until the civilian rule of the post one-Unit era, when efforts were made to distinguish between both ideologies for clarification. Under the current Islamization, no such distinction is visible and the two ideologies are described in the same fashion.

Mythical

The subject matter in the texts catagorized under this variable was found to be 25 percent representative in the overall curriculum, which means that only three books illustrated myths

11. This resolution was passed in the Muslim League Convention in Lahore in 1940, which for the first time called for the establishment of independent Muslim states in Muslim majority areas. Although it did not call for the establishment of a single Muslim state, the early governments in Pakistan have reinterpreted Lahore Resolution into the Pakistan Resolution.

in a positive manner. Because of Pakistan's youthfulness as a state, there are no mythical accounts of a Pakistani origin. However, the ethnic nationalities, with their ancient civilizations and past, possess not only myths but the mythical symbols, as exhibited by their historically evolved ancient national heritage. The early era texts include mythical accounts of ethnic nationalities. The folklore of "Marvi", "Sassi Punhoon", "Dodo Chanesar", and "Heer Ranjha" were given prime importance as symbols of love, patriotism, and humanity and were referred to not only as the native heritage of Pakistan, but as a source of inspiration for patriotism and national integrity. During the One-Unit era, with the abolition of ethnic identities, such accounts seem to have disappeared from social studies texts. The official attempt to create new myths and symbols for Pakistan were met with discontent and suspicion. During the post-One-Unit era, however, some of these symbols appeared to gain acceptance though with major reservations. Textbooks representing the most recent past of this era seem to officially recognize ethnic identities and their heritage, the Islamization influence appears to have de-emphasized the mythical aspects in the curriculum.

Political

The political accounts of ethnic nationalities are presented in 25 percent of the texts only, i.e. one postive representation in each era. Overall, the texts were found to be deficient in this variable. Low scores were given for positive representation of at least one ethnic political personality, no matter how insignificant in political arena. Almost all of the political personalities and events described in the texts belong to central India. No reference has been made to the role of indigeneous national leaders and/or their events in the processes of political socialization and national decision-making in Pakistan.

Religious

The accounts measured in the texts which fall into this catagory are illusions to various religious groups such as Hindus, Parsis, Sikhs, Buddhists, Bahais, Qadianis, Shiates, Sunnis, and Wahabis, their religious practices, and interactions at the ethnic, religious, regional, and national levels. Only the texts of the early era were found to be positively represented, and included material on Hindu and Muslim saints for their efforts to bring about religious tolerance, interreligious cooperation and harmony and as a contribution to social integration. The mid- and post-One-Unit era curricula indicates much less tolerance towards other religions specifically Hinduism, which as one of the ancient religions of the Indian subcontinent has a serious influence on the development of Islam among indigenous nationalities. Many ethnic traditions, customs and names represent such influences. Irrespective of the local feelings, the old names of historical monuments and places symbolizing past history, specifically the Hindu-Muslim cooperation have been replaced with new names, particularly those that represent the 18th and 19th century central India.

Social

Of the ten variables analyzed, the social ranks third lowest with a 17 percent overall representation (economic and educational variables are the other lowest with zero percent repre-

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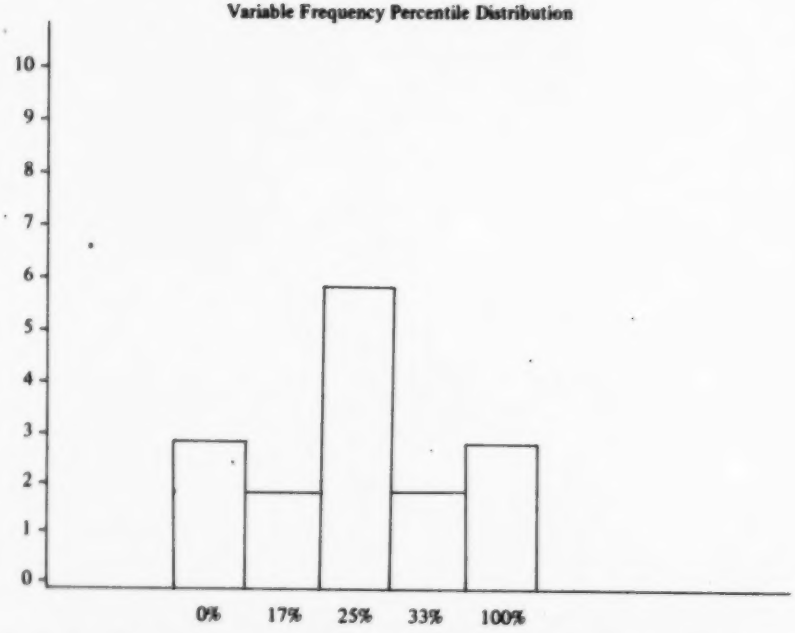
Table IV

Variable Frequency Percentile Distribution



-esentation). Only two texts, one from the early era and the other from the post-One-Unit era, represent this variable positively. These books include the social interactions and relations (including marriages) among different indigenous nationalities and refugee groups both prior to and after independence. Positive accounts refer to social reformers who travelled the country to promote interethnic and interreligious understanding, through festivals, and other co-operative activities. However, majority of the texts lack such information concerning the Pakistani territory and its people, and provide accounts of social interactions in central India.

Conclusion

In the final analysis, the major integrative variables investigated were found to be deficient in their equitable representation of both individual and collective affairs of the Pakistani ethnic nationalities. Although there is a wide dispersion range among variables, the overall mean and mode scores for the entire curriculum fall below a 30 percent positive representation of integrative factors, as shown in Table IV. Moreover, one gets the impression that the national social studies curriculum in Pakistan only represents the migrant community from central India, and portrays majority of the indigenous Pakistani nationalities as insignificant, who make little if any, contribution to the Pakistan's national affairs. Several factors apparently have influenced this national misrepresentation. The primary factor responsible for both

under-representation and misrepresentation appears to be the unequal distribution of political power, which places the Punjabi and the refugee groups in higher-level decision-making positions leading to unilaterally biased decisions. Because of the military might of the ruling groups, voices of other nationalities are not valued. An offshoot of this unequal distribution is that the majority of curriculum developers are appointed from the ruling Punjabi refugee elite who prefer to portray their own group's values and perceptions, while alienating the other national groups and their way of life.

Another factor responsible for curriculum misrepresentation is the unfavorable sociopolitical culture whereby a minority rule is maintained over the majority. This is a manipulation of the non-representative character of Pakistani society reflected in all policy issue areas, including the education.

What are the individual and collective effects of such a non-representative curriculum? The immediate effect is reflected in the demonstration of diverse national attitudes towards national identity. A single depiction of values and perceptions in a multiethnic/national society such as Pakistan can grossly affect students' national and global perspective. Distortions and misrepresentation of objective realities in the curriculum are incompatible with the information which the students formally acquire at home. Most students peceive problems of accuracy and consistency of information in social studies curriculum as a deliberate attempt to delink Pakistani nationalities from their most recent history, and consider it an offense to ethnic identities. Consequently, new generations feel confused with this situation and distance themselves from the official images of Pakistani society. In turn, the individual effect leads to collective effects and is expressed in feelings of deprivation and internal colonialism, changing the very perceptions of Pakistani nationalities about the Pakistani society. An interesting example is the credibility crisis Islamic ideology is now facing versus its previous role of importance. The deprived nationalities of Pakistan express their Muslim brotherhood in their own ethnic ways. Outside the curriculum, the socioeconomic and political situation, such as discrimination in governmental jobs (even within the native provinces), occupation of native lands, and discouragement in the agricultural and industrial sectors by the Punjabi and refugee elite, has further alarmed the ethnic nationalities. Professor Ghulam Mustafa Shah former Vice Chancellor of Sindh University, once wrote:

> Credit must be denied to those to whom it was due. They must stay where they were. The country was made by them but they must not rule it. They must forever suffer and groan. With independence they have become slaves. The millions of Pakistan's indigenous people had purchased slavery.

This content analysis suggests that the social studies curriculum as an instrument of socialization, when non-representative, misdelineates the political system. The current curriculm is not directed towards the goal of national cohesion. An equitable portrayal of indigenous Pakistani nationalities in all of the integrative spheres in social studies curriculum is necessary to achieve and maintain the consensus for Pakistani nationalism. Moreover, considering the present state of the Pakistani political culture and the role ethnicity plays in geopolitical realities of southern Asia, a major sociopolitical reformation of Pakistan is in order. The level of radicalization in Pakistani politics further suggests that the continuing alienation of indigenous nationalities in the political system, and growing inequality issues could lead to further societal divisions and/or another possible dismemberment, multiplying the regional problems in an area where the interests of most major powers are in direct conflict. This has the potential to destabilize the international security of south and southwest Asia.

Finally, it is dangerous to make generalizations from a single case study; neverthless, the educational and political systems in most other African and Asian countries are similar,

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where a single ethnic group and/or a minority group (with the help of certain refugee elite) rules over the majority, causing the long term political instability. Such conflicting situations, legitimized and/or supported by international politics causing subsequent instability, leads one to conclude that the concept of democracy in developing societies should only mean the "resolution of conflict by all means," and not the majority rule.

This is particularly true for Pakistan, which under the current international system is the only country that has undergone the traumatic experience of dismemberment due to an ethnic conflict. Further studies on Pakistan's experience with her own nationalities and ethnic groups, and in the state-building processes may offer future insights and guidelines in amicable conflict management that could be helpful for other societies with similar problems. Education policy in general and the social studies education in particular could play an important role in developing interethnic understanding as well as in clarifying the differences between a nation and a nation-state in multiethnic and multinational developing societies.

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